

LINGUISTIC NOTES ON FRENCH MUSIC TOURISM

The case of *La Fugue* website

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1. Introduction: from travellers' notes to 'travellers of notes'

The phrase *tourisme musical* has only recently been coined, but the musical journey was one of the several forms assumed by the Grand Tour of the past. The habit of travelling in order to learn about a musician and his historical context can be traced back at least to the 17th century, when the Grand Tour already represented a compulsory step for rich, noble young men. To complete their education, English people between 20 and 25 years of age – followed by French and German people of the same age – had to undertake this experience which lasted from six months up to a year and a half (Boyer 1996).

At a time when recordings did not exist, the musical journey represented the only alternative to concerts and scores, and was aimed at learning about a musical reality at first hand, as well as satisfying the traveller's curiosity about other cultures. Charles Burney's work well describes the historical and social importance of this tradition: in order to write a history of music based on real contact with the best musicians of his time, Burney left England in June 1770, and travelled through France to get to Italy. The results of his observations were published in the famous book "The Present State of Music in France and Italy" (1771). Because of his travel journal, in which a wealth of interesting observations and descriptions of contemporary musical life in the main Italian cities are recorded, he is considered as the real founder of musical historiography (Fubini 1979).

Travel journals, along with printed or handwritten letters, are examples of a cultural phenomenon which is nowadays called 'music tourism', and are part of that literary tradition known as 'Travel Literature' which reached its apogee during the 19th century.

Nowadays there are many more opportunities to enjoy musical performances, thanks to new technologies such as television and the Internet, which make it possible to share live events through streaming. Nevertheless, people are more and more interested in travelling so as to take part directly in great music events involving different music genres: from classical music to jazz, from rock music to pop and so on. If we consider classical music in particular, we may observe that the choice of tourist destinations is mainly influenced by the links that those destinations have with a composer or musical genre: for instance, it is well known that Salzburg is Mozart's birthplace, while Bayreuth is generally visited because of its festival dedicated to Richard Wagner. In order to satisfy the increasing demand for a more and more specialized tourist product, some travel agencies have decided to concentrate on classical music in particular, so as to be able to offer well organized itineraries that include visits to musicians' birthplaces and museums, as well as participation in festivals and concerts. In Italy there is even an association, called *L'Isola Volante*, which explicitly invokes *turismo*

musicale and tries “to enhance and support this cultural phenomenon by involving tour operators, tourism organizations, journalists, writers, musical critics and, of course, musicians”.¹ This marks an evolution from travellers’ notes, made up of thousands of pages rich in detailed descriptions of past musical life, to the “Travellers of Notes” [sic], which is the name of the Italian event in the English version of its site. This transformation, which accompanied the rise of mass tourism over the last century, can also be observed in the text types associated with tourist literature: indeed modern tourist guides reveal a more objective writing style than traditional travel diaries (Nigro 2006).

This paper seeks to illustrate certain aspects of current *tourisme musical* in France through the linguistic analysis of a dedicated website. My theoretical framework will combine some basic principles of rhetoric, following the revival of this discipline represented by the publication of the “Traité de l’argumentation: la nouvelle rhétorique” (Perelman, Olbrechts-Tyteca 1958), Benveniste’s theory of enunciation (1966; 1970), and some recent developments in French discourse analysis (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1980, 1986).

2. Materials and methods

Since the Internet is of course one of the most popular means of exchanging information in the field of music tourism, I will take into account the French website called *La Fugue – Europera*.² Before proceeding to the main points at issue, I would like to talk briefly about the name of this website, which is made up of two lexical elements: *fugue* and *europera*. The former has here a double meaning, working at both the denotative and the connotative levels: besides referring to the “forme de composition contrapuntique” (*TLFi*) (‘a contrapuntal composition’),³ it also evokes the idea of travelling and escaping, its general definition being that of “action de fuir, de s’enfuir” (*TLFi*) (‘the action of running away’). This ambiguity can be observed in both French and Italian, but it does not exist in English, where two different nouns – ‘fugue’ and ‘flight’ – are respectively used for the above meanings. The choice of playing on the polysemic nature of the word *fugue* is not an end in itself, but has the effect of attracting the client’s attention through the key concepts of ‘music’ and ‘travel’; and so contributes to reaching a wider audience. The second component of the travel agency’s name (*europera*), on the other hand, is a blend formed from the French *Europe* and the French/Italian word *opera*. Here again, a double reference can be perceived: to travelling (throughout Europe), and to music (through its hyponym *opera*). Moreover, the neologism *europera*, thanks to the partial phonetic superposition of its components (*EurOPERa*), creates a type of wordplay. In other words, this choice is based on one of the linguistic features characteristic of advertising discourse, that is to say the aesthetic function.

These few remarks are enough to make us reflect upon the frequent interrelationships which exist between the multiple levels of linguistic expression in tourism discourse. The texts contained in this website will be mainly analysed from a rhetorical perspective, but other aspects will also be considered, such as

¹ http://www.viaggiatoridinote.it/eng/index_eng.php (4.2011).

² The present study makes reference to the website <http://www.lafugue.com/> as it appeared in April 2010.

³ My translation. Starting from this point, the English translation of the French examples chosen for this paper will be put in brackets.

lexical semantics, morphology and pragmatics. Following a descriptive approach, I will focus on the linguistic component in all the pages of this website, in order to identify how tourism discourse is used for promotional purposes, and what kind of communication strategies are used to achieve this aim.

If we look at tourism discourse in the light of Jakobson's communication model (1960), we can conceive the travel agency as the addresser of the message and the potential clients as the addressees. Even if my analysis starts from the linguistic component of the message, the signs of both the sender's and the receiver's presence will also be investigated. In order to show to what extent communication strategies can help to promote a music tourism product, I will comment on some examples drawn from *La Fugue – Europera* website. In particular, the instances selected will be grouped into three sections dealing with:

- communicative strategies aimed at identifying the audience;
- communicative strategies aimed at involving the audience;
- communicative strategies aimed at enhancing the tourism product and its promoter.

In the following discussion I will try to adhere to this classification for reasons of clarity, although it is sometimes difficult to decide whether to label an example as belonging to one or another of the three categories listed above.

3. Analysis

3.1 The identification of the audience

In view of Perelman's definition of *auditoire* ('audience'), i.e. "the ensemble of those whom the speaker wishes to influence by his argumentation" (1958, Eng. trans., p. 19), it is to be supposed that the identification of an audience represents a preliminary phase in a rhetorical study. Since "it is in terms of an audience that an argumentation develops" (*ibidem*, p. 5), I will identify how the audience is constructed in the case analysed below.

By clicking on the name *La Fugue – Europera* on the home page, you can enter the website and begin navigating through the different tourism offers. On the right, there is a presentation text entitled "*Le créateur de voyages musicaux et culturels*" ('The musical and cultural travel designer'). Through the adjectives *musicaux* and *culturels*, the noun *voyage* is modified, and the consequent change in the whole noun phrase indirectly circumscribes the potential audience. In the same text, another adjective, *lyriques* ('operatic'), contributes to limiting the prospective audience:

1. *L'agence La Fugue – Europera vous guide [...] au cœur des plus grands événements lyriques*

(*La Fugue – Europera* agency shows you the way [...] to the heart of the greatest operatic events)

Elsewhere, modifiers such as adjectives are used for the opposite purpose. In the following example, oppositional pairs used in Chopin's profile aim to attract a more varied audience:

2. *Ensemble, redécouvrons les facettes du compositeur classique et romantique, polonais et français, mondain et mélancolique, virtuose et poète du piano...*⁴

(Let's rediscover together the facets of the composer who is at the same time classical and romantic, Polish and French, sociable and melancholy, a virtuoso and poet of the piano...)

Those people who are interested in musical and cultural travels are thus subject to persuasion and belong to what is defined "particular audience" in Perelman's theory of argumentation (*ibidem*, pp. 28-29). This particular audience does not seem to be homogeneous and can be further divided into subgroups. Indeed, the website offers several tourism packages, each of which aims to satisfy a different type of customer: the two itineraries called *Les Fugues orchestrées* ('The Orchestral Fugues') and *Les Fugues Solos* ('The Solo Fugues') are examples of offers specifically created for people of different tastes. However, at first sight, these titles may deceive people who assume that the words *orchestrées* and *solos* stand for orchestral and solo repertoires. These adjectives are not in fact to be interpreted in a literal way, but in a figurative sense. It is therefore not only the word *fugue* that is to be interpreted as a metaphor, but also the two adjectives *orchestrées* and *solos*, which refer respectively to people who love group or solitary travels, as can be seen below:

3. *Les Fugues Orchestrées*

Vous aimez les voyages motivés par un thème, ou l'opportunité de mieux connaître un sujet. Partager certains de vos repas entre amis. Échanger vos émotions de la journée. Être soulagés des contingences matérielles et ne garder que le meilleur du voyage... N'hésitez pas à vous inscrire à nos Fugues Orchestrées.

Les Fugues Solos

L'évènement vous motive, mais vous souhaitez rester maître de votre emploi du temps: choisir un restaurant quand la faim se fait sentir et revoir votre tableau préféré quand il vous plaît. Les Fugues Solos vous sont particulièrement dédiées.

(The Orchestral Fugues

You love thematic journeys, or the chance to get a better knowledge of a subject. You love sharing some of your meals with your friends, sharing your daily emotions. Being relieved of your material necessities and thinking only of the best aspects of your journey... Do not hesitate to sign up for our Orchestral Fugues.

The Solo Fugues

The event interests you, but you wish to maintain control over your schedule: choosing a restaurant when you feel hungry and taking another look at your favourite painting at your leisure. The Solo Fugues are particularly made for you.)

This is an example of how to attract the audience's attention through the intentional ambiguity of a double musical metaphor. This technique is frequently used, as we can see in the following instance:

4. *Un voyage en quatre actes.*

(A journey in four acts.)

⁴ This quotation is taken from the description of another tourist package, which was called "2010, la grande année Chopin" ('2010, Chopin's great year'), and conceived on the occasion of the bicentenary of Chopin's birth.

In this case, it is not clear whether the metaphor characterizes the word *voyage* ('journey'), which stands for *spectacle* ('show'), or the word *actes* ('acts'), which stands for *étapes* ('pauses'). In other words, the reader/potential client may wonder whether the figure 'four' refers to the acts of a show or the pauses in a journey.

Another example of metaphor where a musical term stands for a more general concept is *ouverture*, i.e. the instrumental introduction to an opera, which occurs in the title "*Accueil-Ouverture*". However, in this case the metaphor is not so ambiguous as the metaphor previously analysed, because of the juxtaposition of *accueil* ('reception') and *ouverture* ('overture'). Moreover, the term *ouverture* is important not only within the French tradition (see the very famous *ouverture à la française*), but also within that of other European cultures: thus the Italian musical lexicon includes a non-integrated loanword (Martinotti 1984), whereas the English form "derives from the French *ouverture*, which denoted the piece in two or more sections that formed a solemn introduction to a ballet, opera or oratorio in the 17th century" (Temperley 1980).

The identification of the audience sometimes takes place on a non-metaphorical level, as can be noticed in the example below:

5. *Les amoureux de territoires inexplorés apprécieront la grande traversée de la Namibie et de l'Afrique australe [...].*

(Lovers of unexplored territories will appreciate the great crossing of Namibia and Southern Africa [...].)

This utterance has a perlocutionary effect on the audience, because it plays on the implied identification of the audience itself with people who love unexplored lands. As will appear in the following sections, since linguistic strategies may also work in an indirect way, it is often difficult to choose only one among the several reasons that may exist for a speech act. However, in this paper I shall separate elements which are blended in the texts, in order to explain how each strategy is used in tourism discourse.

3.2 The involvement of the audience

The audience that has been thus identified is ready to believe the arguments that have been expressly created to persuade its members. The perlocutionary function is particularly evident in the examples below, characterized by the direct involvement of the public.

If we look again at the text entitled "*Le créateur de voyages musicaux et culturels*", we can notice that the audience is involved through various strategies which operate at different linguistic levels:

6. *L'agence La Fugue – Europera vous guide, en toute intimité, aux quatre coins du monde, au cœur des plus grands événements lyriques: festivals, représentations exceptionnelles, rendez-vous incontournables de tous les mélomanes...*

(*La Fugue – Europera* agency guides you, in full intimacy, to the four corners of the world, to the heart of the greatest operatic events: festivals, extraordinary performances, events that cannot be missed by any music lover...)

At a morphological level, the second person pronoun *vous* ('you') is used to directly address anyone who reads the text: according to Benveniste's theory of

enunciation (1970), a deictic pronoun produces a continuous effort to identify the elements of the context. From a lexical point of view, the verb *guide* ('guides') intensifies the promotional function of this utterance: the audience is seduced by the fact that the agency will take care of everything during the journey. By means of these features, combined with the present indicative tense (the mode of certainty) and the use of axiological terms (see Section 3.3), the agency takes responsibility not only for the organization of the trip, but also for its success. In this way the audience is relieved and feels free to leave home without worrying about anything.

The audience's adhesion is also indirectly elicited by certain expressions giving an affective value to the utterances, such as *en toute intimité* ('in full intimacy'). The connotative meaning attached to such words and phrases evokes in the audience a sense of familiarity which makes its members feel at ease. Whoever identifies himself with such a state is much more inclined to be persuaded by the message.

All these strategies aim to satisfy the public's needs in order to influence its behaviour. The same purpose is pursued by the logical implication hidden behind the following phrase:

7. *festivals, représentations exceptionnelles, rendez-vous incontournables de tous les mélomanes...*

(festivals, extraordinary performances, events that cannot be missed by any music lover...)

If we paraphrase the statement *rendez-vous incontournables de tous les mélomanes* by *tous les mélomanes ne peuvent pas manquer ces rendez-vous*⁵ ('no music lover can miss these events'), its implicit meaning is easier to grasp:

8. *Qui manque ces rendez-vous, n'est pas un vrai mélomane.*

(Whoever misses these events is not a true music lover.)

Once again, they play on the presumed identification between the public and the ideal profile of a true melomane, as results from the 'modus tollens' rule:

9. If *P*, then *Q*.
Not *Q*.
Therefore, not *P*.⁶

In order to gain the audience's trust, the senders of the message do not ignore the traditional techniques of the 'ars oratoria'. The text below is an example of 'captatio benevolentiae':

10. *Après tant d'années, tant de voyages, rien n'est perdu de notre envie de vous plaire et de poursuivre la belle aventure!*

(After so many years, so many journeys, nothing has changed in our desire to please you and to continue our beautiful adventure!)

⁵ It is worthy of note that the universal quantifier *tous* allows an interpretation in logical terms: $\forall x, Px \rightarrow Qx$ (where *P* stands for *être mélomane* and *Q* stands for *ne pas pouvoir manquer ces rendez-vous*).

⁶ In logical terms:

$$\frac{P \rightarrow Q, \neg Q}{\neg P}$$

Here, the senders communicate their will to be still attractive to the public and to continue doing the work they began many years before; the illocutionary force of the utterance is boosted by certain rhetorical devices, such as anaphora (*tant d'.../tant de...*) and litotes (*rien n'est perdu*). Generally used to neutralize a negative aspect, the litotes seems to go against the main techniques of the advertising discourse, which consist in emphasising the tourism product. Nevertheless, litotes, as well as euphemisms (Bonhomme 2009), can be useful to promote a commercial offer. In (10), for example, the litotes has the rhetorical effect of emphasizing what could also be said in the following way:

10'. *Après tant d'années, tant de voyages, nous avons encore envie de vous plaire et de poursuivre la belle aventure!*

(After so many years, so many journeys, we still wish to please you and to continue our beautiful adventure!)

The litotes in (10), which has “the form of a negative phrase or statement used to express the opposite” (Wales 2001, p. 239), expresses the same meaning as (10'). So why should there be a rhetorical device? Since ancient times, figures of speech such as litotes have been used not only to embellish a speech, but also to serve an argumentative purpose. In pragmatic terms, it is evident that the illocutionary force of the utterance is much stronger in (10) than in (10'). If we paraphrase the expression *Après tant d'années, tant de voyages* as follows:

11. *Beaucoup d'années se sont écoulés et nous avons organisé beaucoup de voyages*

(Many years have passed and we have organized many journeys)

it would perhaps be possible to conclude from this premise that:

12. *Nous n'avons plus envie de faire ce travail.*

(We don't want to do this job anymore.)

On the contrary, this possible inference is contradicted by:

13. *rien n'est perdu de notre envie de vous plaire et de poursuivre la belle aventure!*

(nothing has changed in our desire to please you and to continue our beautiful adventure!)

In this case, the rhetorical effect produced by litotes is enhanced by the presence of presuppositions. Following Ducrot, Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1986) attaches great importance to what is presupposed: her analysis goes beyond what is explicitly asserted, to underline the manipulatory power of implicit meanings. If we look again at example (10), at least two different presuppositions can be identified:

14. */Beaucoup d'années se sont écoulées et nous avons organisé beaucoup de voyages./*

(Many years have passed and we have organized many journeys.)

15. */Jusqu'à présent, nous avons voulu vous plaire et poursuivre la belle aventure./*

(Until now, we have always wanted to please you and to continue our beautiful adventure.)

Both (14) and (15) remain true even if the content expressed by (10) was denied:

10''. *Après tant d'années, tant de voyages, nous n'avons plus envie de vous plaire ni de poursuivre la belle aventure!*

(After so many years, so many journeys, we don't wish to please you anymore, nor to continue our beautiful adventure!)

This is why presuppositions have a strong effect on the audience: they cannot be disputed; at the same time, they contribute to create "a zone of consensus"⁷ (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986, p. 30) among interactants.

The efficacy of these implicit meanings is enhanced by the repetition of the adverb of quantity, which precedes the lexical opposition between a great quantity (*tant de* 'many'), and a quantity equal to zero (*rien* 'nothing'), so that the anaphoric effect blends with the litotes. Besides the semantic contrast *tant de/rien*, there is also an opposition at the level of signifier by applying the concept of "contre-répétition" (Cornulier 2007, p. 24) to the expression *tant d'années, tant de voyages*. The formal difference between the sound image of *années* and that of *voyage* is emphasized thanks to the *fond d'équivalence* in the pair *tant d'.../tant de....*

Another oppositional pair can be identified at the morphological level: if we look at the personal pronoun system in (10), it is evident that the first plural person (adj. *notre* ('our')) contrasts with the second plural person (pron. *vous* ('you')). In rhetorical terms, they constitute references respectively to the senders and to the audience of a tourism discourse conceived in argumentative terms. On the contrary, the following example – drawn from the same text – shows a different use of the first plural person:

16. *Que partagerons-nous dans cette nouvelle brochure?*

(What shall we share in this new brochure?)

Here *nous* ('we') refers to the *nous inclusif* ('inclusive we'). In Benveniste's theory of enunciation (1966, p. 233), this pronoun has two possible values depending on whether its reference includes the addressee or not. In this case, the choice of the inclusive 'we', together with the verb *partager* ('to share'), aims at involving the audience in order to win its trust. Furthermore, the partial question based on the interrogative adverb *que* ('what') lets us presuppose there is something to be shared. Once again the promotional purpose is achieved through several linguistic strategies, which include at least the lexical, morphological and pragmatic levels of discourse. Even punctuation marks are sometimes used to gain the audience's attention and interest as appears in the following examples:

17. *L'été enfin ne saurait être complet sans les rendez-vous français [...] dont l'éblouissante programmation promet [...] une « Tosca » [...] dans le cadre magique du Théâtre antique...*

(Finally, the summer wouldn't be complete without French events [...] whose stunning programme promises [...] a Tosca [...] in the magical framework of the ancient theatre...)

⁷ My translation.

18. *la formule Europera [...] vous rend disponible le meilleur de la programmation musicale à la Scala de Milan, à la Fenice de Venise, au Teatro Real de Madrid...*

(The Europera formula [...] makes available to you the best of the musical programmes at La Scala in Milan, at La Fenice in Venice, at the Teatro Real in Madrid...)

2. *Ensemble, redécouvrons les facettes du compositeur classique et romantique, polonais et français, mondain et mélancolique, virtuose et poète du piano...*

(Let's rediscover together the facets of the composer who is at the same time classical and romantic, Polish and French, sociable and melancholy, a virtuoso and poet of the piano...)

Here suspension points are used to evoke several things, such as the magic of Ancient Times (17) or simply an infinite list (18), (2). In both cases, the sender plays on the addressee's desire to dream and to personalize his journey, as if fulfilling his expectations were as simple as completing the open list... In many cases suspension points follow an adjective in the superlative form:

19. *Être soulagés des contingences matérielles et ne garder que le meilleur du voyage...*

(Being relieved of your material necessities and thinking only of the best aspects of your journey...)

20. *Florilège de ce que les grandes maisons lyriques offrent de meilleur et de plus inaccessible...*

(Anthology of the best and most inaccessible work that the great opera houses can offer...)

21. *Nous poussons les portes les plus secrètes [...] par quelque personnalité de grand renom...*

(We open the most secret doors [...] through some very famous personalities...)

In such examples punctuation serves to underline the effects of another linguistic strategy designed to persuade the audience and which will be discussed in the next section: that of providing an attractive description of the travel agency, as well as of tourist destinations and musical personalities. In terms of Jakobson's communication model (1960), the description of both addresser and context are thus improved in order to please the addressee and convince him/her to become a potential client. After studying audience identification and involvement strategies, the next section will show some of the arguments used to persuade the audience.

3.3 The enhancement of the tourism product and of its promoter

Once again there are many similarities between tourism discourse and advertising discourse. This relationship has already been studied by a number of French linguists, among whom is to be counted Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004). She suggests that the discourse of tourist guide books and the discourse of advertising are both based on the following inference (*ibidem*, p. 135):

22. *X est bien (il possède tels attributs positifs) → consommez X*

(X is good (it has such and such positive features) → buy X)

The travel designer *La Fugue – Europera* implements this strategy through a series of linguistic devices, including figures of speech, marks of subjectivity, determiners, and connotation.

For example, in *La Fugue*'s website, many toponyms should be analysed as a 'totum pro parte' metonymy, as in the following cases:

23. *Salzbourg fait valoir son rang en convoquant les plus grands orchestres, chefs et solistes du moment.*

(Salzbourg proves its value by inviting the greatest orchestras, conductors and soloists of the day.)

24. *Santa Fe [...] célèbre en musique le 400e anniversaire de sa fondation.*

(Santa Fe [...] is celebrating its 400th foundation anniversary through music.)

25. *Prague d'abord demande à être redécouverte, avec les magnifiques châteaux de Bohême qui l'entourent.*

(Prague first needs to be rediscovered, with the magnificent Bohemian castles that surround it.)

The actions expressed by the verbs *faire valoir*, *convoquer*, *célébrer* and *demander* are generally characteristic of living creatures; so (23), (24) and (25) can also be interpreted as if the place-names were the result of an anthropomorphic metaphor. The figurative meaning can even be conveyed by means of words belonging to the semantic fields of religion (26) and initiation (27):

26. *A Bayreuth, le pèlerinage en terres wagnériennes justifie par la ferveur quasi religieuse qui entoure « Parsifal » et « Les Maîtres chanteurs » une escapade en Bavière....*

(At Bayreuth the pilgrimage through Wagnerian territory, with the almost religious fervour surrounding *Parsifal* and *The Mastersingers*, warrant a short excursion to Bavaria ...)

27. *Nous poussons les portes les plus secrètes et initions aux mystères de cultures fascinantes par quelque personnalité de grand renom...*

(We open the most secret doors and we initiate you into the mysteries of fascinating cultures through some very famous personalities...)

Through this technique, which may be considered as a kind of extended metaphor, the sender makes his musical travels sacred, thus persuading the audience to agree with him/her.

With a view to the same purpose, one of the most common strategies employed is the use of marks of subjectivity, such as axiological terms, mainly adjectives. The axiological lexicon has the capacity to express judgments of value, since it belongs to the class of evaluative terms (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1980). It is easy to guess that in the field of advertising discourse, positive judgement plays the main role. According to Kerbrat-Orecchioni's model (*ibidem*), there exist intrinsically axiological terms, which express a judgment of value apart from the

context of production. It is this class of axiological terms which is the most widely represented in the *La Fugue* website, as the following examples show. The examples include adjectives in their basic form (*beaux, exceptionnelles, extraordinaire* ('beautiful, exceptional, extraordinary')), superlative adjectives (*les plus grands, les plus prometteurs, meilleur* ('the greatest, the most promising, the best')), nouns (*beauté, florilège, meilleur* ('beauty, anthology, best')), noun phrases (*charme envoûtant, une pléiade d'artistes d'exception* ('enchanted charm, a pleiad of exceptional artists')), and adverbs (*superbement* ('superbly')). Conversely, some words become axiological on the basis of a "contagion cotextuelle" (*ibidem*, p. 78): such a phenomenon consists in a transfer of meaning from positively connoted terms to other elements that otherwise would be considered as evaluative, but not axiological. An example may be found in the term *immenses* ('immense'), an adjective taking its axiological value from the noun which precedes it: *chefs-d'oeuvre immenses* ('immense masterpiece').

Notwithstanding the absence of any deictic marker, these examples show that *La Fugue – Europera* is engaged in expressing a value judgment concerning its products. But what happens when its strong presence is referred to by a third person pronoun? Though masked by an aura of objectivity, there are linguistic features that may reveal the main purpose of the travel designer:

28. Le créateur de voyages musicaux et culturels

(The musical and cultural travel designer)

The choice of a definite article allows us to see the emphasis on a positive quality of *La Fugue – Europera* in the utterance (28). Indeed, this kind of determiner is considered by most linguists⁸ as a way to convey an idea of existence and uniqueness.

Besides suggesting uniqueness, or even superiority, the texts analysed reveal some of the other positive qualities of the people working for the travel agency, such as their engagement and credibility. If we look at the closing phrase of the presentation text:

29. *Bien fidèlement vôtres,*
Frédéric Pfeffer, Olivier Luciani
et l'équipe de La Fugue

(Sincerely yours,
Frédéric Pfeffer, Olivier Luciani
And the La Fugue team)

we can immediately perceive that the possessive pronoun *vôtres* ('yours'), and the modifier *bien fidèlement*, indicates that the agency is at the service of its clients and that a sense of fidelity and confidence underlies this relationship.⁹ The argumentation previously developed is therefore reinforced by the presence of proper nouns, which convey the ideas of personal involvement and of the assumption of responsibility. The authors of the text are also involved from an emotional point of view, as the use of the exclamation mark in (10) shows:

⁸ See for example Riegel, Pellat & Rioul (1994) and Arrivé, Gadet & Galmiche (1986).

⁹ The interpretation of this pronoun as a shifter is not evident in English, because it is delexicalised.

10. *Après tant d'années, tant de voyages, rien n'est perdu de notre envie de vous plaire et de poursuivre la belle aventure!*

In order to convince the audience of the positive qualities of the travel agency, the argumentation focuses on its long-term experience:

30. *Voyager, découvrir, rencontrer – ces mots ont-ils encore un sens ? C'est le pari que fait la Fugue en explorant avec son savoir-faire coutumier les mille et un mondes qui se déploient par delà nos horizons culturels et musicaux traditionnels.*

(Travelling, discovering, encountering – do these words still have a meaning? This is the gamble that la Fugue is taking, by exploring, with its customary savoir faire, the thousand and one worlds lying beyond our traditional cultural and musical horizons.)

The adjective *coutumier* ('customary'), which follows and modifies the phrase *avec son savoir-faire*, strengthens the positive image conveyed by the whole website, besides allowing another presupposition:

31. */La Fugue a, et a toujours eu, un certain savoir-faire./*

(/La Fugue has, and has always had, a certain savoir faire./)

So the audience is persuaded to trust the travel agency, not only by being made to admire its courage in betting on travels and discoveries, but also by identifying itself with the will to explore something that goes beyond traditional limits. The potential client is thus invited to dream and to project his expectations onto a fairy world. Once again, the sharing of premises between the sender and the audience is realised through an attentive use of the inclusive 'we' ('nos horizons'). However, the pronoun system also creates some ambiguity: on the one hand, the first person pronoun includes both the addressees of the message and its author; on the other hand *La Fugue* is referred to by the third person (what Benveniste 1966, p. 256, calls "non-personne"). This formal contradiction may be interpreted as a technique aimed at keeping the correct distance from *La Fugue* and, at the same time, as a way to express a certain complicity with the audience. Through an ambiguity created at an enunciative level, the same perlocutionary purpose is achieved. At the rhetorical level, example (30) is based on the evocative dimension of the three infinitives *voyager, découvrir, rencontrer*: the rhetorical question which follows them, besides performing the traditional function of stating something through questioning, shows that it is apparently possible to negotiate the meaning of the sentence. The well-constructed image of the travel agency is therefore completed by another positive feature, i.e. the dialogic perspective, which supplies the missing piece to complete the puzzle.

All the examples given in the present section (3.3) belong to a category where the utterances not only have an informative purpose, but also let the audience know that the author of the message believes in what s/he is stating and arguing. Thanks to the atmosphere of complicity – deliberately created by the addresser through various linguistic techniques – the audience is disposed to believe in the same supposed truth.

4. Conclusions

This paper has tried to show how, in the *La Fugue* website, perlocutionary effect is pursued through different linguistic strategies, and how a persuasive intent is hidden behind text that seems merely descriptive. It is worth noting that both lexicon and morphology, besides pragmatical and rhetorical techniques, contribute to the realization of this aim, thus making tourism discourse very similar to the discourse of advertising. Moreover, many texts seem to have an argumentative dimension which derives from the presence of a speaking subject trying to appeal to the members of its audience and to persuade them to become tourists and customers.

In order to present such communicative complexity as clearly as possible, the linguistic strategies adopted in the website have been classified into three groups related to the identification of the audience (Section 3.1), to the involvement of the audience (Section 3.2), and to the enhancement of the tourism product and its promoter (Section 3.3). As already mentioned above, such a classification has its limits, mainly due to the difficulty of separating utterances in a clear-cut way. Notwithstanding such difficulties, this research could be a first step in a wider study taking into account a contrastive dimension. Indeed, it would be interesting to analyse a corpus of parallel texts dealing with music tourism, but at the present time the lack of sources for the French-Italian language pair does not allow this kind of approach. In a perspective where translation is considered from a pragmatic point of view, it would be necessary to study in depth how the target text could produce the same persuasive effects as the source text, and how it is possible to attain what Leo Hickey calls “perlocutionary equivalence” (2004, p. 61).

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